1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER XII

RELIGION

771 RIFFIAN religion, although of course officially Islam, is a blend of that faith with old heathen ideas, and with factors apparently Christian and Jewish, some of which may antedate the arrival of Islam. The kings of Nekor were rigid adherents to the Malekite rite,[1] and the Islam of the Riffians from that time to this has been officially orthodox.

782 794 The visible practice of orthodox religion consists in the sending by each *bone* of twenty-five men on a set day each week to the cantonal mosque to pray, and in public attendance of Friday sermons there. The preceptor delivers this sermon in the morning, standing before the worshippers and leaning on a cane. He criticises local happenings and gives out the agricultural forecast for the week, besides expounding the Koran.

Most of the men of the *canton* who are married and of serious purpose attend this service. Old women also attend, sitting in a separate room, where they can hear but cannot be seen. Young women do not go, and indeed seldom take the trouble to pray, since religion is almost wholly a masculine concern. When they do pray they do it at home. As an outlet of religious energy, or more often as a holiday excursion, they take food to the saint's tomb and eat it there with their children. Students, apparently immune to the prohibition against men's going to the tomb, do so and are given food by the women. Women also go to cemeteries on Fridays, and enjoy themselves despite their surroundings.

773 A common legend prevalent in many parts of Morocco is that after the Christians have had their way with the Muslimin for a certain length of time, Sidna Ali will come and smite them with the sword. After this Sidna Aissa, or Jesus, will appear and convert the Christians to Islam.

This legend is narrated in the Jebala, where a special intensity is given to the part of Jesus in the drama. The Jebalans claim that when Sidna Aissa comes wolves will lie down with lambs, and that stones, streams, and roads will speak. Ali, who is said by the Jebalans to have been scab-headed, and Jesus, who is probably their most important religious personage, especially in Taghzuth, are the only two historical characters reputed not to have died, but to be living on, awaiting return to earth. This is not said of the Prophet, whose personality hovers in the background as the legitimate but unemphasized pivot of the religion.

At Taghzuth I was told the stories of Jonah and the whale, and the Flood. In the latter legend, the ark was made to land at Tangier. This belief is also held in the Rif. A variant version popular there is that in the beginning of time Banu Adam (a collective name meaning "Children of Adam," or "mankind," but here used to denote an individual) saw that a flood was coming and built a boat, taking into it his wife, his daughter, his dog, his cat, his donkey, and seven men. When the flood was over the boat landed on a mountain. At that time the seven men began quarrelling over Banu Adam's daughter, since each of them

[1] See p. 22.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

tial functions of the market by supplying in with a permanent site has served to bring its very great cultural significance into even sharper relief (22).

Islām in Aith Wuryāghil is much the same as it is in the rest of Berber Morocco. The Wuryāghlis observe the «Five Pillars» (profession on faith, prayer five times a day, fasting during the month of Ramaḍān, legal almsgiving and the pilgrimage to Makka) as rigorously as they can, but extremely few have ever managed to make the long and costly trip to the holy places of Arabia. Riffian Islām is essentially a popular Islām, and is manifested chiefly by regular attendance at the cantonal mosque for the noonday prayer on Fridays, by veneration of local saints (Rīffian *imrābdhen*, sig. *amrābidh*; Arabic *murābiṭīn*, sing. *murābiṭ*) and by belief in supernatural beings (angels, *jnūn* and a local ogress of hideous appearance called *thamza*, who eats babies and is more or less equivalent to the 'Ā'isha Qandīsha of the Moroccan Arabs). As elsewhere in the Muslim world, heathen survivals in religious ritual are numerous. The people of Aith Wuryāghil and of the Central Rīf in general are, however, not as ridden by superstition as those of the Jibāla and the Ghumāra. In the Rīf, Tamsamān enjoys a far more religious reputation than Aith Wuryāghil, whose name has always been linked more with warfare.

The principal zāwiyas (Ar. *zāwiya*, pl. *zuwāwī*) are those of Sīdī 'Abd al-Qādir in Aith Ḥadīfa, Tashtīwen in Jabal Ḥammām (Iḥwaḥwaḥiyen of Aith 'Abdallāh), Sīdī Muḥammad al-Ḥājj Mis'ūd in Aith Turīrth (Aith La'ārs), Aith Fārs in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (Ighmīren), Zāwiya 'Alāwīyīn in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (ar-Rabḍa), and Sīdī 'Aisā, Sīdī 'Amar u Būkar, Sīdī Muḥand u Mūsā and Sīdī Yūsuf in Imrābdhen. In 'Abd al-Karīm's time the only one functioning as a *zāwiya* was Sīdī Muḥand u Mūsā in Aith Hīshim, located on the point known as «The Hillock of the Saints»; today Sīdī Yūsuf and Zāwiya Iqannīyen, the local headquarters of the 'Alāwīyīn order, are the most active; all the rest, for the most part, have been reduced from functioning lodges of religious brotherhoods to simple schools or

(22) Fogg, Walter: «Villages, Tribal Markets and Towns: Some Considerations concerning Urban Development in the Spanish and International Zones of Morocco», The Sociological Review, vol. XXXII, London, January-April 1940, pp. 85-107.

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

771 saints' tombs (23). Ṣūfī brotherhoods have never been widespread although the 'Alāwīyīn (a recent order centered in Mustaghānim, in Algeria), Darqāwa, Tijānīyīn and Naṣirīyīn have each gained a number of aherents the first-mentioned predominates at the presen time and the second was the most popular before the Riffian War.

778 Although the whole «fifth» of Imrābdhen, technically speaking, is descendend from *shurfā*, it has completely lost its *baraka* (a wonderwoking power not unlike the Melanesian *mana*) through participation in feuds. Both these families, as well as the rest of Imrābdhen, lebong to distant ramifications of the *Shurfā* Idrīsīyīn. The *shurfā* alone and not even all of them possess the quality of *baraka*, upon which they capitalize; it is said that they can cure sick babies by spitting in their mouths.

796 The usual Muslim festivals are observed: 'Āshūrā, Mūlud (in classical Arabic, *Maulid*), 'Īd aṣ-Ṣaghīr and 'Īd al-Kabīr (called 'Aid th-Amzyān and 'Aid th-Amqrān in the Rīf), while two pre-Islamic events are still celebrated in the agricultural calendar or *'ām al-fillāḥ*: the 'Anṣra, on June 24, a survival of the summer solstice rite, and the Ḥagūz, on December 31. The only local religious pilgrimage is [788] the annual one to the tomb of Sīdī Bū Khiyār, in Bū Mā'dhīn, Thimārzgha, in the mountains, at the time of the 'Īd al-Kabīr. There are many other saints' tombs in the tribe, but they are only of minor importance and too numerous to mention here.

142 A word still needs to be said about racial characteristics and ethnic personality. Like all the Central Riffians, about 40% of the Aith Wuryāghil are standard Mediterraneans, with the usual Mediterranean racial attributes: short to medium stature, legs long in comparison to trunk, long heads, narrow faces, small teeth, prominent noses, dark hair, brown eyes and fairly heavy body hair. But, like all Mediterraneans, they show a persistent minority trend toward blondism; this tendency toward light brown hair and blue eyes is, among the Central Riffians, slightly higher than the usual 25% among other Mediterranean peoples. Coon believes this slight excess to be due to isolation in a mountain refuge area (for most of the blond Wuryāghlīs live in the mountains and not in the Bay of Alhucemas),

(23) Rodríguez Padilla, Isaías: **Cofradías Religiosas en el Rif y Diversas Taifas de Xorfas, Zauias y Santuarios.**, Ceuta 1930, p. 24.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

A) Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! 788
B) Hunh! Hunh! Húnh! Húnh! Hunh! Hunh! Húnh! Húnh! 781
C) Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! 575 795
D) Same as B) above. 778
E) Same as C) above.

When I arrived at Sīdī Bū Khiyār, about noon, the show which the 'Alawiyyīn put on was just ending, so I unfortunately saw almost nothing of it. What little I did see, while trying to peer over the heads of the crowd that had collected, indicated that the 'Alawī litany and ritual, which is performed without the use of drums or musical instruments of any kind, is an energetic and muscular affair, which keeps its practitioners in good physical condition; for they were all jumping up into the air to the accompaniment of the breathing routines given above. It was, however, a very far cry from the howling and self-flagellation indulged in by the 'Aisāwa and Ḥamādsha to induce trances. Furthermore, after the 'Alawi litany was over, all the participants got up and went about their business without further ado; no one seemed to be recovering from the effects of a self-induced trance. It had merely been good healthy exercise.

Of even greater interest, perhaps, was the attitude of the crowd, [771] one of mild curiosity followed by almost complete indifference, an attitude which not only marks the Rifian's outlook on religious brotherhoods in general, for he is not apt to join them, but toward most features of alien cultures which he has no desire to assimilate.

After the ṭulbā have finished collecting their ma'rūf, and the 788 'Alawiyyīn have terminated their ritual, the whole having lasted 778 some two to three hours, the pilgrims all perform their ablutions [783] prior to prayer. Some have, in the meantime, and for their own pleasure, visited the pinnacle of Tamrābiṭ; there seems to be nothing particularly meritorious in so doing, for the holiest feature of the point is its name, although it may once have been of some ceremonial significance.

The common prayer, held on the flat prayer site just below 778 Sīdī Bū Khiyār's tomb, is the focal point of the 'imārah. It is led by 788 782

Paragraph h shows us the guarantee of keeping the principal religious services (funerals, etc.) and of keeping their sons educated in the faith. Today, under a different pretext, it is not uncommon to observe someone pretending to reject with disdain such a traditional obligation, for which he must not claim protection. The reason for this, rather than being rooted in irreligiosity, must be sought in possible antagonisms with the fqih.

Paragraph i conditions the obligation of fulfilling the agreements with certain legalities: that so many individuals be present at the meeting, and that they be useful and not prejudicial. They are, thus, the colegislators, working freely and without limitation, without dependence on anyone. It urges obedience.

Paragraph j recommends obedience to the shaikh.

In summation: this beautiful qanun of a jma'th establishes who are the iziddifen or council-members, and what their attributes are: to establish statutes regarding damages to crops, education and hospitality, but not to concern themselves with murder, woundings and homicide, an affair of the clan, nor with personal status, a religious matter. In the internal struggle within the jma'th, if, indeed, the iziddifen consent and delegate the execution of their decisions to a representative (the shaikh) to whom they accord circumstantial rewards, at the same time, jealous of their prerogatives, they free themselves very easily from authorizing him to contrive misdemeanors and penalties for these.

Thus the shaikh, in reality, is only the guardian of the community.

685 In the same way, they agreed to impose fines for all damages or injuries which are caused, such as theft, etc.

Whoever should steal a sheep or a goat shall be fined 10 duros, and whoever should steal barley, broad beans, etc., from someone else's land shall be fined 5 duros.

681 In summation, all injuries or damages caused by one of them (the Bani 'Adhiya) against another (of them), a fine shall be levied from him, whoever (the party guilty) of the injury or damage may be.

671 In accordance with the above, their declarations were put down, as they have been expressed and explained. Valid and complete testimony. The parties who took part in the present agreement know [693] the value of this agreement, and because of this, both the undersigned notaries testify to what is set down and to the fact that they (the Bani 'Adhiya) are in a perfect state of legal capacity (of sound minds and memories) and that they are known (personally) to them (the notaries).

805 On the second day of the divine month of Jumad ath-Thani of the 600 year 1332 (April 28, 1914). Servant of his God, may He be glorified, 'Abd as-Salam bin 'Abdallah at-Tafrasti, may God be benevolent toward him. Servant of his God, Muhammad bin 'Aisa at-Taxurakhti, may God be benevolent toward him.

B) Commentary:

671 This synthetic qanun of the Aith 'Adhiya, drawn up in conformity with the dictates of the purest tradition, contains within it suggestions analogous to the rest of the documents which we have studied.

It is a pact (author's italics), by which those who have [771] agreed on it must in future regulate their coexistence and traditional

671 771 law, a lay law ignorant of religion even though it speaks of the Sacred Book, the irregular application of which, in such a recent and turbulent period, leaps into view, proving that Rifian Islamization is superficial.[57]

671 182 [778] [782] [779] [514] This pact combines all the pleasant conditions of the Rifian appetite. It is verified in the habitual place of reunion for transcendental acts, taking place under sacred protection, in addition to lubricating the agreement with the heathen rite of blood sacrifice, the Islamic promise of peace, and the feast day for the sober Rifian, an enforced vegetarian.[58]

671 182 614 619 It brings together the mass of the Aith 'Adhiya, a subclan of the khums (Rifian thakhamasth) of Aith Bu 'Ayyash; and democratic practice advises this mass not to mention the name of any individual in writing, as this might presuppose questions of distinction and preference, swelling their heads.

671 182 628 681 [511] It establishes the ddiyith[59], fixing it at 2000 duros, the maximum sanction which it is worth pointing out and imprinting indelibly in the minds of those who attend. This is a fabulous amount of money for the economic means of the people to whom it relates; and it is accepted as much out of the respect which radiates from it as from being generally admitted in analogous pacts of which they have news in neighboring districts.

671 628 681 184 443 It must be pointed out, in order to avoid the confusions which can arise from the different editorship of the qanuns, that the real ddiyith, or blood money (author's italics), does not, in reality, differ anywhere throughout the Rifian mountains, and must be valued at

231 There are practically no communal events,
796 and few pertaining to individual life crises, which can be accom-
782 plished without the sacrifice of an animal. Perhaps this social
231 and ceremonial significance of animals among a sedentary, horti-
182 cultural people can be explained by the fact that they live by a
[791] religion whose manifest forms of spiritual observation developed among pastoral transhumants. I do not mean to imply that goats and sheep are as important in the lives of the Berbers as are camels to the Bedouin or cattle to the Nuer. The economic base of the Riffian is perhaps too diversified for such psychological domination to take place. Nor were there the same sort of feuds between goat herdsmen as exist with camel or cattle. If, however, we regard livestock as merely secondary food sources in the economic sphere, we shall miss its importance to the social life and institutional structure of the Rif and hence misevaluate its true economic significance.

121 In the discourse which follows I shall be dealing with economic units of extremely small scale. To a reader oriented to the scale of economic transaction which takes place in post-industrial society, the examples used may seem irrelevant to an examination of economic organization. My problem, nonetheless, impels me to use such examples. Waterson (1962:4) estimates that
433 435 the annual per capita output of the fellah in traditional
[171] Moroccan agriculture is 30,000 francs or $60. In the Rif, which is regarded as one of the poorest sections of Morocco,
231 435 the figure is probably lower. Yet my data on the average prices

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 4

VARIETIES OF SOCIAL EXPENSE: RELIGION AND MAGIC

In the previous chapter I attempted to demonstrate that a certain proportion of the expenses of the Berber in the Rif, either in the form of consumption or investment, is motivated by obligations arising out of familial responsibilities. In this chapter I shall take up the role that magic and religion play in the distribution of wealth. I have attempted to show how incentives arising mainly from the way the Riffian interprets the supernatural world have an effect on the consumption, dispersal, and/or exchange of wealth. My aim is to demonstrate the feedback from ritual to production in the hope of eliciting one of the main distinctions between industrial and nonindustrial economies. To put the argument succinctly, in the former one finds little relationship between the use of wealth and religious or magical ceremony while in the latter there is a high degree of interaction. While the amount of wealth used for such activities in an industrial society is proportionaly small in comparison to the total wealth, in a nonindustrial society it may be one of the most frequent and common expenses.

In common with most world religions, Islam serves a heterogeneous religious community. As a consequence of this there exists a bifurcation of its form and content. On the one hand it serves a more or less sophisticated segment who find spiritual

771 guidance from the Book and the various interpretations of the
[779] Book made by a body of literate scholars. But it also serves as a vehicle for the spiritual expression of the illiterate and the superstitious. The needs of the one community, though not necessarily incompatible with the other, are of a different
771 nature. To meet the needs of the rural tribesmen, a cult of
776 saints has long existed in Morocco. The earliest reference to
794 this phenomenon in the Rif can be found in the work of 'Abd el-Haqq el-Badisi's Lives of the Saints of the Rif, dated 1311 and translated from Arabic to French by G. S. Colin (1926). The more formal aspects of Islam whereby a morality is derived from dialectic interpretation of Koranic scripture did not have the power of explanation among the tribesmen as mysticism. As Colin points out in his introduction to el-Badisi's work:

> Il s'agit donc, en somme, d'un effort de vulgarisation de la science religieuse et, plus spécialement, du mysticisme, dans le but de rendre ce dernier plus populaire et plus pittoresque, et de permettre par là aux ames simples d'y prendre intérêt et de s'y attacher. (Ibid.:8)

792 A man became a saint because of various miracles performed
796 during his lifetime which, according to the beliefs of the tribesmen, signify that the man had a closer connection with the spiritual world. In most areas of Morocco the saint was also a sharif or descendent of the Prophet. This does not seem to be a vital criterion for sainthood in the Rif. El-Bakiri lists only one of the saints in his hagiography as being a sharif (1926:11).

The tribesmen came to the saint during his lifetime for advice in spiritual and secular affairs. According to his success

796 241 789 821 seem that no technical analysis of it based on markets, price mechanisms or entrepreneur skill will offer satisfactory results.

The strands of the argument in this chapter may now be 556 454 791 brought together. One of the forces that is influential in determining how wealth shall be used is located in the world of the supernatural. Motivated by mysticism, by religious duty and by fear, the Berber of the Rif seeks succor in a wide variety of activities. All such activities require outlays of wealth which are, on the whole, economically nonproductive (in that one does not have a chance of economic reward from one's investment) but are socially satisfying and beneficial. Such moral and magical imperatives create an incentive towards investment, which is relatively unimportant in industrial society.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

few notes here will suffice to illustrate the range of difference. The Sanhajans are masters of terracing and irrigation, but in horticultural skill they yield to the Rifians, who are noted also for honey and grapes. The Ulad Stut, thanks to their bedawin origin, are expert in the preparation of milk products. The Ghmarans are northern Morocco's best fishermen, but their skill is limited to the use of skiffs and seines. The Sanhajans are most interested in freshwater fishing, and they may also be the best hunters in the northern zone. These points will be elaborated in chapter vi.

Cultural Uniformity and Diversity

In order to place northern Morocco in proper perspective, we must consider two classes of culture traits: those that are ubiquitous and those that are limited to certain parts of this zone. For example, the Rifian is in many respects quite different from the Ghmaran or Jbalan. He speaks a different language, has different ideas of honor and shame, wears his turban differently, and builds a different type of house. Yet as Moroccans the Rifians, Ghmarans, and Jbalans share ideas and objects that are rare or unknown in other parts of the Muslim world.

All Moroccans, at least in theory, are good Muslims. Islam does not confine itself to ideas and their influence on the spirit of man: it is a religion of force and authority, a system of law, and a basis of government. The influence of Islam is evident in institutions and patterns of behavior that affect the form and function of every village and farmstead. To say that Moroccans are Muslims is to assert that they share ideas and institutions common to the entire Muslim world. Yet it is also true that Islam in Morocco has many unusual features. It is a common saying that Berber culture constitutes the foundation of the Moroccan house, while Arab customs and religion are only the whitewash on the walls.[3]

A distinguishing feature of Moroccan Islam is the elaborate development of brotherhoods and the cult of saints. These heterodox developments seem in part to reflect pre-Islamic beliefs. The Berber tribesman, though he may be ignorant of Arabic, yields to no one in the belief that he is pious and correct. He prays, keeps the fast of Ramadan, and honors those of his tribe who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In this sense he is like all Muslims, but, as Hart aptly remarks, he retains local saints to comfort him and local jinns to plague and torment him.[4] One aspect of these beliefs is the superstition that relates to the sanctity of cemeteries and shrines. In chapter vii it will be shown that there is often a marked contrast between the plant cover of sacred land and that of profane land.

Berber kinship terminology, like that of the Arabs, is a bifurcate collateral type.[5] The terms for mother's brother and for father's brother are different, as are the terms for mother's sister and for father's sister. The inheritance of property follows the standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. Descent is patrilineal, and the number of pa-

[3] D. M. Hart, "Morocco's Saints and Jinns," *Tomorrow*, 7 (1959), 45–54.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 46.
[5] D. M. Hart, *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 136a–140.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

Tidighin and Adrar Taghzut.[*] The rest of the Ktama, who are more exposed to outside influences, have abandoned Sanhajan speech.

In Morocco as a whole, Berber is still the language of the mountains, but most of the foothill zone has been Arabized. This generalization applies to the Sanhajan tribes south of the Rifian chain and to the southern parts of Igzinnayen, Ibdharsen, and Aith Bu Yihyi. Since the transition is from Berber speech to bilingual habit and then to Arabic alone, the tribes that are now bilingual indicate the direction of current and future change. In the areas of Ghmaran and Sanhajan speech the traveler has no trouble finding someone who can understand Arabic. The same comment can be made for the southern and eastern margins of the Rif. But as one moves from the marginal areas toward the heart of the Rif one finds fewer and fewer persons who speak Arabic; in Aith Wariyaghar and Thimsaman it is understood only by the educated elite.

Adoption of Arabic speech is only one aspect of Arabization. Many Berber groups resisted Islam at first, but by two or three centuries after the Arab invasion they were all Muslims, at least in name. Yet, while eventually converting the Berbers to Islam, the Arabs failed to control them politically. The Berber attitude toward new ideas is and presumably was one of partial or conditional acceptance. Pre-Islamic traditions emphasizing the Berber spirit of freedom and self-sufficiency could not be completely erased. Rifians and Sanhajans promptly submitted to Allah, but they did not welcome Arab tyranny or the demand of the central government for taxes. Berber tribesmen eagerly responded to any appeal for a *jihad*, or holy war, but in accepting Islam they never abandoned faith in animism and in their local saints. These two features still give a distinctive flavor to Moroccan Islam, especially in contrast to the puritanical dogma of Saudi Arabia.

Islamization and Arabization cannot be regarded as omnipotent forces capable of erasing Berber culture. A case in point is the reluctance of the Berbers to accept the Arab pattern of tribal organization. When the European occupation began, most of the mountain tribes maintained their tradition of government by popular assemblies. Prior to the European occupation, the extent of the Arab form of government was no larger than that of the central government itself. With no roads in the modern sense and with overland travel limited to riding and pack animals, it was impossible for any sultan to keep all his domain under effective control. The land of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) was confined to the lowlands where communications were easy to establish and maintain. The foothill zones retained their assemblies, although tribute was paid by some tribes through the intermediacy of the *qaid* of a subdued tribe. The boundaries of the *bilad al-makhzen* were forever fluctuating, depending on the strength or weakness of the central government, but the main areas of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*) remained independent until the advent of European control.

Berber tribes generally accepted the Five Pillars of Islam: profession of faith, prayer, almsgiving, fasting, and pilgrimage. But each "pillar" was modified somewhat to suit local traditions and tastes. Many Berbers think of pilgrimage in terms of their local shrines. Indeed, according to some Moroccans, seven succes-

[*] The Senhajan dialect is spoken also at Ain Ighumad, on the north slope of Adrar Dahdoh, but this sector of Ktama has its main contact with the Berber-speakers of Aith Seddath.

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East M1

able since much of it is not mountain at all, but open rolling country.

The Riffians are tough fighters. They won Spain for Franco, on a promise of freedom given them on the Yellow Plain of Ktama. One of them, ʿAbd el-Krīm's jailer, once told me that he gave the Christian prisoners dirt mixed in their bread; this is nothing to what the Christians have done to them, which, out of deference to the sensitivity of my readers, I shall not print here. Needless to say, the Riffians buried no one alive in anthills, nor have their women hacked any prisoners to shreds. Having never visited the Pathans, I cannot make the same denial for them with as much conviction, but until shown otherwise I shall continue to believe that these tales come out of the same volume of fiction.

Reading about the Pathans, however, reminds me much of the Riffians, with a few differences. The Riffians live in wetter and more fertile country, with more vegetation, and, although good Muslims, make little display of their religious feelings. They keep the fast and all the main feasts, adding a few of their own. The older men refuse to smoke, and some even refuse tea. They confined Jews to a few coastal settlements, notably Bades and Melilla, while Christians were not admitted at all, before the days of ʿAbd el-Krīm, who let in Gordon Canning, Vincent Sheean, and a few others without demanding previous conversion. One is told that the Pathans are "fanatical," but this again may be a form of general xenophobia channeled through the symbolic mechanism of religion.

The Pathans also are organized in tribes, divided into subtribes, partitioned into sections, split into clans, which are made up of patrilineal extended families.[9] Each family, clan, section, and subtribe has its head man, who represents his group in the *jirga*, or representative council of the group just above him. Like the Asht Arbaʿin, these councils convene to attempt to settle matters of dispute between their constituent members. Irrigation quarrels and cattle rustling are the chief business of the smaller jirgas, while adultery and murder draw the full tribal council, presided over by its chief officer, the khan. Like the amīn of a Kabyle village, he is often no more than a moderator. In case of murder, the killer flees the tribal territory at

[9] See H. Hörhager, *Die Volkstumsgrundlagen der Indischen nordwest-grenz Provinz* (Heidelberg, 1943). M. Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul and Its Dependencies* (London, 1825). C. Collin Davies, *The Problem of the Northwest Frontier, 1890-1908.*